



Life and Work
OF
LALA LAJPAT RAI
EDITOR OF THE PUNJAB

EDITED BY
P. D. SAGGI
EDITOR-PUNJAB TIMES

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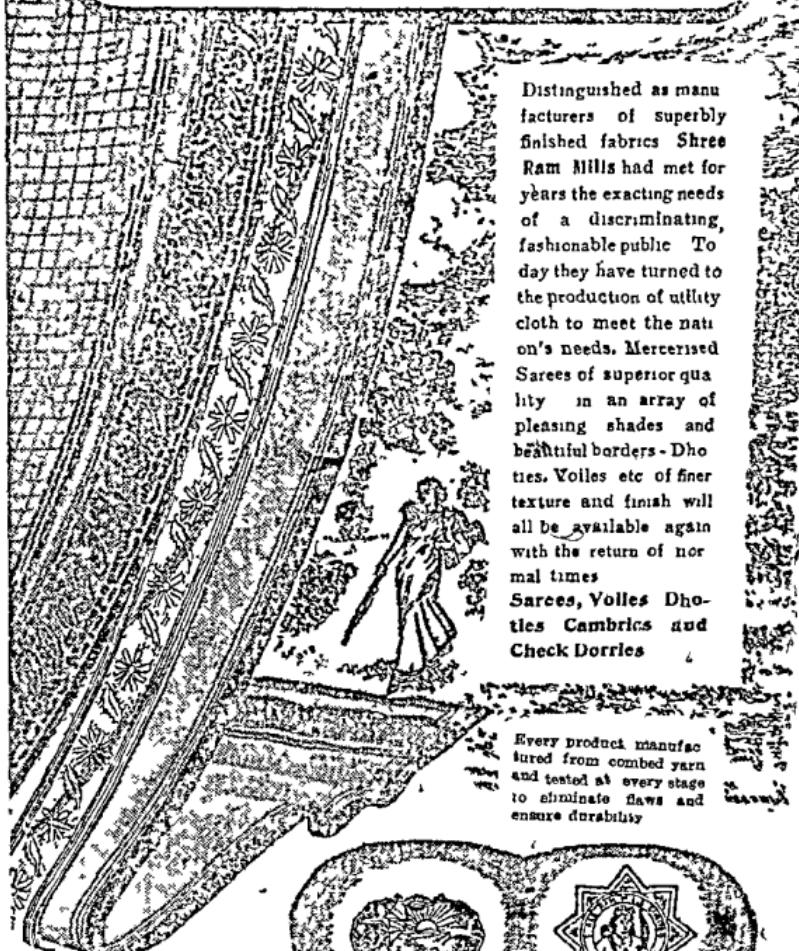
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FOREWORD

Lala Lajpat Rai was not only a great politician of his day but also a staunch advocate of inter-communal unity.

That is why his name is held in high esteem by persons of all communities. All his life he fought valiantly for the liberation of his MOTHERLAND. From the tributes paid to his memory by eminent Indians and Englishmen, it is evident that the great Lala left a deep impression on their minds by his patriotism, sacrifice and suffering.

This book is being published in a spirit of hero-worship. It is hoped that this book will serve the purpose for which it is intended.

EDITOR

UNITE OR PERISH



THE IDEAL FOR WHICH LALAJI STOOD

LIFE AND WORK OF I. JAIFAT RAI

LAL BAL & PAL



BALGANGADHAR TILAK



LALA LAJPAT RAI



BIPINCHANDRA PAL

THE UNFORGETTABLE TRIO
WHO LIVED & DIED
FOR INDIA

The, blow, that was hurled at us this afternoon was a nail in the coffin of the British Empire. Nobody who has seen it is ever likely to forget it. It has sunk deep into our soul. We have to revenge ourselves of this cowardliness not by violently attacking them, but by gaining our freedom".

Lala Lajpat Rai



Kafan

Personalities like Lalaji's
need nobodys' praise.

Bapu

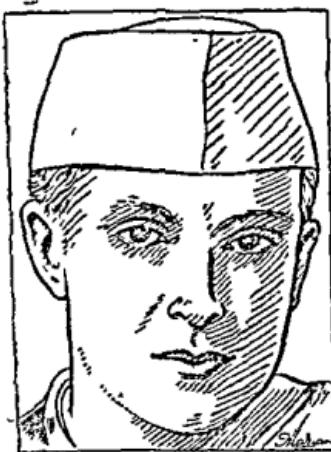
"Lala Lajpat Rai is dead ; long live Lalaji. Men like the Lala cannot die so long as the sun shines in the Indian sky. Lalaji means an institution. From his youth he made of his country's service religion and his patriotism was no narrow creed. He loved his country because he loved the world. His nationalism was internationalism. Hence his hold on European mind. He claimed a large circle of friends in Europe and America. They loved him because they knew him.

His activities were multifarious. He was an ardent social and religious reformer. Like many of us he became a politician because his zeal for social and religious reform demanded participation in Politics.

He observed at an early stage of his public career that not much reform of the type he wanted was possible until the country was freed from foreign domination. It appeared to him as to most of us as a poison corrupting every department of life. It is impossible to think of a single public movement in which Lalaji was not to be found. His love of service was insatiable. He founded educational institutions. He befriended the suppressed classes. Poverty, where found, claimed his attention. He surrounded youngmen with extraordinary affection. No young man appealed to him in vain for help.

In the political field he was indispensable. He was fearless in the expression of his views. He suffered for it when suffering had not become customary or fashionable. His life was an open book. His extreme frankness often embarrassed his friends if it also confounded his critics. But he was incorrigible.

M. K. Gandhi.



Lalaji was a strong man and a great nationalist. Sense of National humiliation involved in the assault on him hastened his end. He was truly a great son of the soil.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

I admired Shri Lajpat Rai from afar from the time he was deported to Burma. My young heart was then stirred to the depths. Later I had the pleasure and honour of meeting him several times when he came to see my father. No one who met him could but be impressed by the zeal of this patriot for his country's freedom, by his unflinching devotion to the cause he had espoused and by his supreme courage. Such as he must always live and inspire us to devote ourselves, heart and soul to win India's freedom.

(Sd.) Amrit Kaur

I am too deeply distressed by the news of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai to be able properly to express the sense of loss the country has sustained by the passing away of a patriot, statesman, educationalist and journalist of his calibre.

It is a misfortune to the country that a publicist so widely honoured whose aim in life was to serve the country and the community of which he was an ornament in the best possible way should have died just at a time when the need of his wise and sober guidance was the greatest. Lala Lajpat Rai loved his country intensely and worked for it incessantly and unselfishly.

His pure patriotism, his robust independence, fearlessness, sincerity and earnestness, easily won for him the respect which he so widely enjoyed.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of his services. It was needed at present to voice sound national public opinion and to guide the country into the right path of national self government. Lalaji's death has heavily added to the loss of many public men, which we have sustained during the last few years. While his passing away inflicts a heavy loss upon the country as a whole, it inflicts a special loss upon the Hindu community, the interest of which he had so much at heart and which he tried to protect without letting it stand in the way of the growth of sound nation spirit, which was the very foundation upon which a national system of free government can be built up.

Madanmohan Malviya.

"With the death of Lala Lajpat Rai passes away one of the foremost champions of Indian nationalism Since the days of Lal, Bal, Pal, Lalaji remained a conspicuous and active figure in the political arena He moved abreast of the times but he did not lose contact with those of his countrymen who could not keep pace with him India could not ever afford to lose, much less can she afford to spare him at the present juncture. His death to day is a national calamity of the first magnitude and that is why the whole of India is in mourning Providence so willed that before he left us he made a gift of all his properties to the nation This reminds us of the similar gift of Deshbandhu Das This is how great men live and die Lalaji was in the full possession of his powers and talents and died at the height of his fame and glory As a death, his was a happy death But what about his distressed countrymen?

Subash Chand

A grand merit he possessed was that when led people into a position of danger, he shielded em and went himself along to take the brunt of the attack. He certainly carried out Charles Bradlaugh's orders, when you advise an attack, do not say go, but come. At this special moment his loss is particularly great for although a few of his juniors have his courage, we have not yet his experience and confidence. The circumstances of his death are peculiarly tragic, for he died taking part in the boycott of the Simon Commission. His death will, if possible, tiffen the boycott and resentment to the Commission. His death was hastened by the injuries received at Lahore. The pain of these prevented him from attending the meeting at Delhi, which he asked me to address instead. He had hoped the worst of the shock was over, but he was evidently unable to rally from it. He is not the first, but I hope he will not be the last to die in struggling against foreign oppression. But there are a few who live the protest they make in words. Our younger men may well take an example from his unflinching action, his contempt of empty proclamations, and his proud outspokenness. The Punjab will miss terribly his decisive and well-considered leadership.

— ANNIE BESANT.

Pandit Motiyal Nehru, interviewed by a Free Press representative on Lalaji's death said: "The sudden passing away of Lala Lajpat Rai is a great national calamity. He was one of those outstanding personalities whose place it is impossible to fill. It would indeed be difficult to find another man with public activities, covering such a widefield as those of the remarkable man, whose loss India is mourning to-day. His earnest patriotism did not allow his inexhaustible energy to any particular channel, but found avenues for useful work in almost every department of life which goes to build up a nation. Politics and journalism may be taken to go hand in hand together and he was easily in the foremost ranks of both. But the useful, though silent work he did in the sphere of social reform, more specially among the untouchables and the suppressed classes, was not less valuable. At an early stage of his life he devoted himself to the service of the land of his birth. His great sacrifices, his terrible sufferings in the cause are well-known, but nothing deflected him from the path of duty.

"I had had th differ from some of his political views and during the last general elections' we did not spare each other, but more numerous were the occasions when we found overselves in full agreement and worked together as if there had never been any differences. The success achieved by the report of the All-Parties' Committee was in a great measure due to his generous support. He threw the full weight of his great influence on the side of the report and in spite of his weak health travelled far, and wide to popularise its recommendations. To the last moment of his life he was working hard to make the coming National Convention a complete success. I was in almost daily communication with him and his last telegram, containing valuable suggestions, was received only yesterday a few hours before he breathed his last.

The sad news came as a severe shock early this morning, and while the shock is fresh I find it impossible to express adequately my appreciation of the great man that has passed away. I shall, therefore, only say that by the sudden death of Lala Lajpat Rai at this critical stage of our struggle I have lost the invaluable assistance of a great colleague and the country of the devoted services of a selfless patriot. He was a great man, a good man and true.

Matilal Nehru.

I came to know the late Lalaji well during his visit to Bombay. When the history of Indian's struggle for emancipation from the British yoke comes to be written, Lala Lajpat Rai's name will find an honoured place there in and will be mentioned with pride as of one, who dedicated his life in order that India might be free. He sacrificed everything, even his precious life itself for fuls filling his life's mission and died a martyr's death. His tragic death was the result of blows on his chest at the hands of an Officer. This supreme self-sacrifice should serve us as an inspiration to redouble our efforts for India's emancipation. I offer this humble tribute to the memory of the brave and noble son of India.

B. G. Kher.

I had the privilege of knowing Lalaji intimately, he having put up with me many times in Calcutta and myself having travelled with him in other parts of India. It is a pleasant memory which I always cherish. Lalaji was a great man not only as a patriot but as a person. He did his best to serve the country fearlessly. We hope in the near future we will be able to reap the harvest of the seeds sown by Lalaji for the independence of the country. That will be the greatest triumph and memorial to Lalaji's work.

Sd/- B. M. Birla.

HE WAS A VETRAN SOLDIER

"To die in the battlefield is the longing of every hero. The Punjab is undoubtedly the most martial of Indian provinces. Of such a province Lala Lajpat Rai was the unchallenged leader and had been so, for the past quarter of a century. This patriot, this hero, this martyr, fell in the battle with the British bureaucracy carried on for over two decades on the economic, political, moral and finally the physical plane. There can be little doubt that the lathi blows dealt on this patriot of India by the unthinking and heartless policemen has hastened the end of the revered Lala. If the end had come before the advent of the Simon Commission to Lahore, Lalaji's life would have been wanting in completeness. Like a veteran soldier that he was, he fought to the end, stood at his post of duty to lead the procession under the pressure of an unexpected situation and turned what would have been if he had been off his guard about in the first victory of the new era on the plane of non-violence in the battle for freedom."

S. Sitaramayya

The memory of the late Lala Lajpat Rai should inspire the Punjabis to work for the commonweal and to make the name of Punjab resplendent in the annals of India.

Jogindra Singh
Member Viceroy's Executive
Council,

The great patriot, although a staunch Hindu Arya always did his best to promote inter-communal unity. I am glad that you are emphasising that aspect of his life work on the occasion of the anniversary.

N. B. Khare,
Member Viceroy's Executive Council.

I WHOLE-HEARTEDLY associate myself with my countrymen in paying my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Lala Lajpat Rai on this the 17th Anniversary of his demise. Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the fore leaders of the country and will be long remembered for the great services he rendered not only to the Province of his birth but to the whole of India. The Arya Samaj and the D. A. V. College have particular reasons to be grateful to him as he devoted quite a number of years to the service of these Institutions. The Hindu Sabha also owes a debt of gratitude to him as when he joined it as its president he raised its prestige in the country and defeated the Congress at the elections of 1926. The Congress owes a still greater debt of gratitude to him as during the last 7 or 8 years, of his life as well as for many years before he joined the Hindu Sabha, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the cause of the Congress. I have no doubt that Indies of all classes will join in honouring his memory on this day.

DR. GOKUL CHAND NARANG.

Lala Lajpat Rai, the Lion of Punjab, was a patriot of the First Order. His dauntless courage, determination and unflinching loyalty to the National cause are a beacon light. The Punjab in particular and India, in general is proud of her noble son and patriot. He opposed the British Imperialism tooth and nail till his last breath. The Simon Commission had a shock of its existence by his self-sacrifice. Lala Lajpat Rai will remain a living memory and symbol of sacrifice before his countrymen. Greater was he than the mere pen description. Let us follow the example set by him and thus prove worthy sons of worthy Free Mother India.

Bhanju Ram Gandhi

Who can forget the manner in which the great Lala Lajpat Rai passed away? He was one of our greatest leaders and his energy, oratory and sincerity seemed to move mountains. He strode like a colossus over every continent of the world giving the best part of his life to America, carrying the message of his country abroad

After he came to India, he was in the thick of every battle and spared not any rival, great or small. Though his differences with Pandit Motilal Nehru were to be regretted, the way they battled was a scene for the gods to witness. The infamous itinerary of the Simon Commission will, for long, be remembered in the freedom fight of this country on account of its association with the lathi charge at Lahore. Thereafter, the great Lalaji declared that every blow aimed at his chest was one more nail in the coffin of the British Empire. Whatever he had said has been too true, for every blow that has been dealt at our countrymen either inside the jails or outside, has served to cut off our links with British Imperialism. It is in the fitness of things that almost a year or two after Lala Lajpat Rai died, India declared Independence on the banks of the Ravi.

May the toil and sweat he spent for the cause of the country bear fruit for all time.

Joachim Alva.

Lala Lajpat Rai, the Lion of Punjab, was a patriot of the First Order. His dauntless courage, determination and unflinching loyalty to the National cause are a beacon light. The Punjab in particular and India, in general is proud of her noble son and patriot. He opposed the British Imperialism tooth and nail till his last breath. The Simon Commission had a shock of its existence by his self-sacrifice. Lala Lajpat Rai will remain a living memory and symbol of sacrifice before his countrymen. Greater was he than the mere pen description. Let us follow the example set by him and thus prove worthy sons of worthy Free Mother India.

Bhanju Ram Gandhi

Who can forget the manner in which the great Lala Lajpat Rai passed away? He was one of our greatest leaders and his energy, oratory and sincerity seemed to move mountains. He strode like a colossus over every continent of the world giving the best part of his life to America, carrying the message of his country abroad

After he came to India, he was in the thick of every battle and spared not any rival, great or small. Though his differences with Pandit Motilal Nehru were to be regretted, the way they battled was a scene for the gods to witness. The infamous itinerary of the Simon Commission will, for long, be remembered in the freedom fight of this country on account of its association with the lathi charge at Lahore. Thereafter, the great Lalaji declared that every blow aimed at his chest was one more nail in the coffin of the British Empire. Whatever he had said has been too true, for every blow that has been dealt at our countrymen either inside the jails or outside, has served to cut off our links with British Imperialism. It is in the fitness of things that almost a year or two after Lala Lajpat Rai died, India declared Independence on the banks of the Ravi.

May the toil and sweat he spent for the cause of the country bear fruit for all time.

Joachim Alva.

It is as a harbinger of inter communal unity that we remember Lala Lajpat Rai the Lion of the Punjab. The selfless work that he did in this direction will enkindle many a youth in years to come.

Lala Lajpat Rai was a true internationalist in his outlook. He visited England and America so that he may plead the cause of India there. He however felt that the Indian question could only be solved on the International basis. I feel that in the wider sense he was a follower of Baha'u'llah.

Mani Mehta

I gladly avail of the opportunity of paying my humble homage to that great son of India, the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

India has reasons to be proud of the personality that was Lala Lajpat Rai. He was an ardent and true patriot who fought for his country all his life through thick and thin and bore all the sufferings and hardships with rare fortitude. Along with a *burning passion for freedom*, he was endowed with the qualities of earnestness, courage, self-sacrifice and fearlessness to a remarkable extent.

Above all he had the gift of eloquence in abundance. He was an impassioned orator of rare caliber. His words thrilled audiences and kindled patriotic fervour.

Speaking as Chairman of the Punjab National Bank Ltd., I mention with a feeling of pride and gratification that this great personality was at one time actively associated with the Punjab National Bank Ltd. as a Director.

(Yodh Raj)

Lala Lajpatrai was one of the makers of Modern India. The great and invaluable services which he rendered to the country will be remembered by generations of Indians yet unborn. At a time when few Indians were prepared to make sacrifices for the cause of freedom, Lala Lajpatrai dared to espouse that cause without fear of consequences. He was an exile from his country for many years. But, whether in the country or outside it, his first thoughts were always about India and he increasingly worked in the face of enormous difficulties, to enlighten an indifferent world about her plight and her demand. His work in the field of social reform was no less important. He was the unsailing friend and champion of the under-dog and it is not surprising that he was one of those who took the initiative in establishing the Indian Trade Union Congress over whose first session he presided.

Syed Abdullah Brelvi.

Lala Lajpat Rai was one of the greatest patriots of our time and formed part of that famous Trio "LAL, BAL & PAL". He sacrificed his life in the service of the country. He had started leading the people at a time when there was apathy for national service and when the leaders were neither honoured nor feted.

Besides being a politician, Lalaji was also a pioneer in the fields of Indian Banking and Insurance.

Lalaji's services and sacrifices in the cause of the country will long be cherished.

Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee.

It would be presumptuous on my part to give a message on the life and work of Lalaji. I was very intimate with him and I knew that the fire of patriotism was burning all the twentyfour hours in his heart. He lived for the country and virtually died for it.

G. D. Birla.

THE FOOT-PRINTS THAT GUIDE

By: Prof. S. N. Dhar, Kashmir



The writer's esteemed friend, Mr. P. D. Saggi, did a signal service to India when he, last year, brought out a Souvenir entitled "Life and Work of Lajpat Rai". That he is doing so again this year speaks of his love of and adherence to the causes which the "lion of the Punjab" fought for and represented in his memorable life.

The fateful year 1928 saw India poorer by a great loss on the demise of a great man, the late Lala Lajpat Rai, who was rightly acclaimed as the "Lion of the Punjab". The void left by the Lala's death unhappily and suddenly created in the political and social life of the Punjab, and of India, as a whole, has hardly been filled during the last generation. The Lion of the Punjab has not been properly succeeded.

The events of the epic of a life that Lajpat Rai led are well known all over the country. Some prominent events will, however, bear repetition. His early practice at Hissar found him in field for the use of his great energy and his love of service to society and to the nation and he shifted to Lahore. That migration was in itself symbolic of his great love of service to the cause of the motherland. That Lahore saw him busy in multifarious activities which his inexhaustible energy alone could cope with, is also well-known. The social reformer and the educationist that he was, he brilliantly diverted to the fields of journalism and Indian politics only to shine out there as a great writer, a moving orator and fearless politician, whose patriotism understood and appreciated broader issues of the world on a scale of international comity.

It is interesting to consider some of the many facets of the complex personality of Lala Lajpat Rai. The writer's predilection to educational matters impels him to consider Lajpat Rai first of all as an educationist and educator, for he was both rolled into one dynamically, a great man endowed with the gift of a seer's vision coupled with practical imagination. He made tireless efforts towards the great national cause of mass education. Out of the many educational institutions that he founded, D. A. V. College, Lahore, stands as a great monument of his educationalism. When he visited the U. S. A. in 1905, he observed educational institutions of America and their latest advances, which he incorporated, to a great extent, in many educational institutions. To him the problem of physical education in India was the problem of the first magnitude. To that important end, he directed many useful efforts.

The insatiable love of service that Lala Lajpat Rai had, made him one of the foremost fighters for freedom of India. His political thought was bold and relentlessly frank. Through press and platform he expressed his views in the most fearless manner worthy of the Lion of the Punjab. He had a staunch zeal to purify and strengthen Hinduism and, as President of the Hindu Sabha, he gave reformist Hindus a regenerative programme. At the same

time he was a tireless advocate of inter-communal harmony in India emphasising its imminent need and re-inforcing its historical basis in the cultural and other unity of Hindus and Muslims. He was a great renascent Hindu but never a fanatic zealot. His reading of the history of India made him see not the Muslims but the English as aliens.

Finding that the social worker was handicapped due to lack of financial means he visualised and founded the 'Servants of India Society.' Multifarious public activities did not make him forget the so-called depressed classes for whose uplift he did many things. Though he had differences with Mahatma Gandhi, yet he always upheld and furthered the Gandhian Programme. This was a token of his clear honest thought. Therefore, his nationalism was not of the cheap JINGO variety but it had strong and deep roots in an internationalism that was both economic and political.

The Veritable Lion of the Punjab can never be dead. In his simple but effective way, Mahatma Gandhi said "Men like the Lala never die so long as the sun shines in the Indian sky." What is his message? Mahatmaji defined that in these words: "He has bequeathed to the younger generation the task of vindicating India's freedom and honour. Will they prove worthy of the trust he reposed in them? "That task is still the supreme necessity, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said the other day, without the attainment of India's freedom "all planning is useless". The message of Lala Lajpat Rai embodies a great and worthy challenge to the young manhood of India. Will they stand up to it and "prove worthy of the trust"?

It is best to sum up with the estimate of Lala Lajpat Rai as a man. A versatile genius that he was, his complex and dynamic personality was revealed in his many activities as an ardent social reformer, a far-seeing politician, a great educationist, a powerful journalist and a charitable philanthropist. Endowed with a genius for making friendships he made friends in Europe, England and America. Mr. Maedonald characterised him as "the most single-minded Indian he had ever known." His courage and confidence his sufferings and sacrifices in the nation's cause, will go down in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

Nation's Homage



"A man loved by thousands not in his own province only, a man of high character and elevated feeling, a keen religious and social reformer and a political worker who, whatever his faults, worked only in broad daylight".

Gokhale.

"Courage to speak the truth and
fight against evil, fortitude to
bear cheerfully the brunt of life
honesty in the purpose of life
and strong determination to do
one's duty at all costs - these are
the qualities that make a man
truly great."

A Bold Politician

(Biography published soon after Lalaji's Deportation and Release in 1907)

Who is a great man? asks Lord Beaconsfield, and answers the question himself. It is he who affects the mind of his generation. judged by this test, Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a great man.

He was born in 1865 of humble but respectable parents in the small town, Jagaran in the district of Ludhiana.

His father Munshi Radha Krishen who is fortunately living, is an excellent Urdu writer and the author of numerous pamphlets and books. Straightforward and honest, he is a great lover of knowledge. While a student, Lala Lajpat Rai distinguished himself at every stage, his weak health and narrow circumstances notwithstanding. He studied in the Government College at Lahore for two years, being in receipt of a University scholarship. Having passed the first certificate examination of Law of the Punjab University he started practice in 1883, when he was hardly eighteen year of age.

Two years later he passed the final examination standing second in a list of thirty candidates. While sympathising with and aiding every movement which made for progress, Lala Lajpat Rai early in his life identified himself with the Arya Samaj in which he found at first ample scope for the exercise of his patriotism, philanthropy and religious zeal. The visit of Swami Dayanand in 1877 marked a turning point in the social and religious development of the Punjab. By pointing to the pristine purity and simplicity of the Vedas, Swami Dayanand condemned on one hand the corruption and decay which had crept into popular Hinduism, and on the other satisfied the cravings of the national spirit which in those early days sought to realise itself in the field of social and religious reform. A gospel like the illustrious Swami's was a trumpet call for men to array themselves in opposite camps. Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends were not the men in those stirring days to look on unconcerned as if they had no part to

play in the fray Guru Dutt, Hansraj and Lajpat Rai were constituted Apostles of the new evangel. It was true they were students. But they did the work of grown up men, —preaching debating and spreading the cause throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab Hansraj being the eldest of the three counselled, Guru Dutt inspired and Lajpat Rai carried out the plan of missionary operations. In internal constructive work too the three young men took a leading part.

Having qualified as a Pleading, Lala Lajpat Rai elected to settle down to practice at Hissar in the Punjab. He practiced down to 1892 when he became the leader of the local bar. He also acted for three years as Honorary Secretary of the Hissar Municipal Board. In 1892 he transferred his practice to the wider field of Lahore whose Chief Court is practically the High Court of the Punjab.

In education, secular and religious, Lala Lajpat Rai has long taken a very active interest. He took part in the foundation of the Davanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, a First Grade College with an endowment of some five lakhs which he was largely instrumental in collecting. He is a Vice-President of the institution, and off and on for about a dozen years he has acted as its Honorary Secretary. He has taken active part in teaching having several times acted as Honorary Lecturer in History. He has made large donations to its funds. He is Secretary also to the Anglo-Sanskrit College at Jullundur and a member of the Managing Committees of a number of Arya Samaj schools in the province.

It was chiefly his interest in education that took him to America in 1905, where he visited many edu-

cational institutions and took care notes for future guidance. We may also mention that he gave important evidence before Lord Curzon University Commission in 1902.

His attention was not confined to matters educational. In other departments of social service as well the Lala's activity has been marked. He organized relief works and orphanages, the outcome of his disinterested love for humanity in general and his community in particular. For several years he has been General Secretary of the Arya Samaj Orphanage at Ferozepur by far the largest Hindu orphanage in Northern India, having several hundreds of orphans in its books. He is a member of the Managing Committee of the Waifs Orphanage at Meerut also a well endowed and flourishing institution. In 1897, and again in 1899-1900, he organised a Hindu Orphan Relief movement which succoured over 2,000 orphans, and he acted on both occasions as its General Secretary. The Government availed themselves of his experience in 1901, when he was invited to give evidence before the Famine Commission. His evidence was specially valuable as he had personally inspected the areas largely affected by famine.

In April 1905, on the occasion of the great earthquake in the Kangra District, he organised a relief committee on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj, and as Secretary of that committee he visited areas particularly afflicted, collected funds and himself supervised the administration of relief. His philanthropic undertakings—living embodiments of his *Tyaga* and *Propakara*—testify to his high capacity as financier and organiser.

Lala Lajpat Rai is also a man of extensive business connections. He is a Director of the Punjab National Bank, the first and the largest Indian Bank in Lahore. He is interested in several other cotton mills and cotton presses in the Punjab, being in several cases on the Board of Directors.

Lala Lajpat Rai claim attention as a man of letters. As a journalist, he has for several years edited a vernacular magazine and a vernacular weekly journal, both conducted in the interests of religious and social reform and educational progress. He has published in Urdu biographical monographs on Mazzini, Garibaldi, Sivaji, Swami Dayanand and Sri Krishna—books which have been widely read and greatly appreciated in the province. He has been in constant touch with several newspapers conducted in English contributing to them frequently on the leading questions of the day. He has also written in English a life of Pundit Gurudutta Vidyarthi, the Indian Reformer. He has compiled a concise historical account of Hindu civilisation down to the commencement of the Mussalman period. Lala Lajpat Rai has always felt drawn towards polities.

It was in 1888 A.D. that Lala Lajpat Rai joined the Indian National Congress movement when it met at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. George Yule.

In 1905, the Indian National Congress Committee having recognised in him an austere, sincere and selfless devotion to his country and her cause, selected him as one of its delegates to place before the British public the political grievances of the Indian people. The Indian Associa-

tion of the Punjab voted Rs. 3,000 for the expenses of his tour in England but he who had himself disbursed money for philanthropic and patriotic objects would have none of the money but gave it back to the support and benefit of students, and met his expenses out of his own pocket. In the political campaign carried on in several parts of England the Indian representatives brought home to the mind of Britisher the evils of unsympathetic bureaucratic government under which India was labouring and pleaded in eloquent language adducing facts and figures in support of their contention, the cause of the half-starving and half-dying people of India.

In the deliberations of the Indian National Congress which assembled in 1905 at the holy city of Benares under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, he took a leading part, and supported a resolution on the "repressive measures in Bengal."

The greatest fact in Lala Lajpat Rai's career and the one which has made his name a household word in every part of India is his Deportation. Lala Lajpat Rai, true mariner that he is, read the signs of the coming storm; and the letter which he handed over to the editor of the *Punjabec* a few hours before his arrest, remains the most remarkable example of political prescience which has ever emanated from the pen of any Indian politician.

The notorious Partition of Bengal was the precursor of a new political phenomenon in India—the birth of the nascent Nationalism. This infant political growth, the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats could not and would not tolerate. Of the ways and means they devised to strangle the national movement one was to strike a blow at the

influence of popular leaders. Unpopular measures, like the Colonization Act which has since been wisely disallowed by the Viceroy, had stirred popular feeling which vented itself in public meetings. Of these meetings the Lala according to Mr John Morley himself attended only two meetings, not on his own initiative but at the express request of the people. When the Lala who was sent for by the people to explain the object of the unpopular measures of the Government, was on his way to the meeting, he was intercepted by the local Satrap and the Superintendent of Police, and advised not to deliver any lecture on pain of forcible dispersal of the meeting, and the loyal Lala Lajpat Rai accordingly informed the assembled people of the intentions of the magistrate and caused them to disperse peacefully. The law is glorified when thieves and robbers, decoits and murderers, and persons of moral and spiritual depravity are visited with condign punishment. But when the flower of a nation are chosen for arbitrary punishment, the law degenerates into a savage weapon. Lala Lajpat Rai undoubtedly among the choicest spirits of the age and of the race. Like Captain Dreyfus he innocent victim of the rulers of is an the land.

His letter address to the *Punjabee* a few hours before his secret arrest and dark deposition seems Prophetic, but his appeal and warning to his Bengal friends assembled in the Benares Congress is prophetic. "If you have adopted this manly and glorious policy, be prepared for the logical consequence" (cheers). Don't conceal your heads don't behave like cowards. One having adopted that manly policy, stick to it till the last. The one reads like an unconscious autobiography but the other fully lays

the straightforwardness of a mind standing four square to all the winds that might blow. Questions without number were put in the British Parliament to the biographer of Gladstone and Burke, but these have been treated with scant courtesy. Under great pressure, Mr Morley first tried diplomatic methods of persuasion to inspire confidence in persistent members of parliament who are interested in Indian progress, and these proved futile. It was only after his conference with Sir D. Ibbetson "one of the ablest and most experienced Lieutenant Governors, that he gave out the grounds on which he sanctioned this extreme and quite uncalled for action.

In the deportation of the Lala—an idealist, enthusiast, *literateur*, practical philanthropist, bold politician, accomplished lawyer, coolheaded financier, cautious investor, earnest religious preacher and devout Arya Samajist politics in India has entered upon a new phase and will, ere long, develop into a force which it will be impossible for any human power, armed through it be with the most drastic laws and a formidable array of soldiers and a magazine of shots and bullets, to change and on the right evolution of the collective and mutually interdependent forces brought in to play, the salvation of India depends.

It is a happy sign of the times that this fact is recognised even in highest quarters.

At any rate it is a matter for rejoicing that the Government of India have at last thought fit to restore the spotless and illustrious Lala to his proper sphere. The Government of India more than the happy Lala deserve congratulation on an act of justice for which there should have been no occasion.

LALA LAJPAT RAI.

(Biographical Sketch of the Lion of the Punjab)

By Professor D. C. Sharma, D. A. V. College LAHORE.)

Lala Lajpat Rai's life story reads like an epic. Yet it is a pity no writer has done justice to it so far. Some facile writers wrote short biographies of this great leader when he was alive, but none of those stories is complete. Nor are many of them available today, for they satisfied only the short-lived curiosity of readers. At one time Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews thought of writing a biography of Lajpat Rai, but his project never materialised. The Servants of people Society, which Lajpat Rai founded, undertook to give an authentic biography of their beloved chief, but before it could go to press, the writer was arrested under the Defence of India Act. We have, therefore, to wait for some time before it will be in our hands. So Lajpat Rai's complete story of life is not yet an accomplished fact.

All this is very strange. But it should be remembered that such has been the fate of many great Indians. Alas in this country there are very few Boswells and there are still fewer Morleys. A Boswell can

present his hero as he lived from day to day and can vivify his personality with the help of revealing anecdotes. A Morley can write an extensive and detailed biography which is at once cool and fervid. It can give a picture of the man but more clearly it can sum up his achievements. We do not have in India even a writer of sketches like Mr. A. G. Gardiner who can delineate the essential man in a few pages. Lajpat Rai could have been a fit subject for all these different types of biographers, but the fates have not been kind to him.

Yet there is no need to despair. The best biographer of Lajpat Rai will be Lajpat Rai himself for all time to come. Any one who is interested in him will have to go through his innumerable works in order to have a complete picture of the man. But I wonder if many have that amount of patience and imagination. Still it will be worth our while to go through his fragmentary autobiography. We shall also do well to read those books in which he gave the story of his deportation,

his impression of Japan and the account of his visit to America. One should also read his books on Education, Politics and History, his biographies of some of the heroes of India and the world, and his innumerable articles. All these reveal the man with all his enthusiasms and limitations, for everything that he wrote was vibrant with his personality. In this respect he is like Gandhiji. Both of them have what has been so aptly described the didactic impulse, the desire to communicate their impressions, their views and their experiences. This urge, has a two-fold purpose—on the one hand, it means self-expression and on the other hand it is a desire to influence other people.

In spite of the fact that the essential man can be seen in his writings, it is not possible to ignore the external facts of his life, for they relate both to his heredity and environment, and these, as we know, shape mainly the trend of one's life.

Lajpat Rai was born in 1865 in Jagraon, in the district of Ludhiana, a district which is known mainly as the home of militant Sikhs. Lajpat Rai came, however, of an

Aggarwal family, which though not blessed plentifully with the good of this world was rich in self esteem and independence of spirit. His father, L. Radha Kishen, was a teacher of Urdu in a Government school, but it seems this service had not shackled his spirit. On the one hand, he admired Swami Dayanand Saraswati to the point of adoration, and on the other he had no end of regard for Sir Syed Ahmed. If Swami Dayanand Saraswati embodied in his person the renascent Hinduism, Sir Syed represented reformed Islam and united nationhood. For a long time Sir Syed exemplified all that was the best in Indian nationalism, but when he broke away from the Indian National Congress, his admirer received a rude shock and expressed a sense of disillusionment in an article which was published in the Press. Lajpat Rai's mother was one of those noble women who are destined to build up a home by their piety, thrift, wisely devotion and strong motherly affection. It is no wonder that Lajpat Rai once said, "All that I am I owe to my father and mother."

If one looks at all this critically, one finds a rich heritage for Lajpat Rai. The heroic way of life

or the military attitude of the soul, as Emerson puts it, came to him from the soul where he was born. His interest in the reform of Hinduism and his enthusiasm for united Indian nationhood came to him from his father. In addition to these he got from him that burning desire for self-expression, which was such a mighty weapon in his hands. All his genius for constructiveness and the basic spiritual quality of his nature were the gifts which he inherited from his mother. It is true, his parents did not give him much in the way of worldly possessions, but surely he got from them much by way of intellectual, emotional and spiritual endowment.

Lajpat Rai went to School, as other children. It is, however, sad to relate that no school-fellow or teacher of his has given us any interesting reminiscences of his school days. But a few things are clear. He was a promising student and won a scholarship. He was also a student on whom this so-called education did not have a deadening effect. In his school days he acquired a passion for reading, writing and speaking, which stood him in good stead throughout his life. But he was not merely a bookish lad. He felt interested in

life around him. Then he came to Lahore and joined the Government College. After passing his Intermediate examination, he sat for the examinations in Law. In 1895, he was a full-fledged Vakil.

We must remember that his student days at Lahore were the blossoming time of his genius. Youth is a remarkable period in one's life. It is the time when one makes friends and imbibes enthusiasms; and all these determine a man's future. Lajpat Rai was lucky in both because the times were so propitious. ~He came to make friends with Mahatma Hans Raj and Pt. Guru Datt, and all these three played a vital part not only in each other's life but also in the life of the province. At the same time the Punjab was in those days electrified by the gospel that the Arya Samaj preached. To ardent spirits it brought a message of national regeneration and spiritual uplift. Lajpat Rai fell under its spell and it left abiding impression on his life. He threw himself heart and soul into this movement, and became its champion in the press as well as on the platform. He wrote frequently for an English Weekly, which the Lahore Arya Samaj published, and he lectured very often from its plat-

form. He became in a short time one of the major hopes of this movement. When Swami Dayanand, the founder of this movement, died, he delivered an oration at a public meeting in Lahore which stamped him as one of the leaders of this movement. His identification with this meant that he was to play a leading role in social reform, religious uplift and educational progress, for these are the three objects for which the Arya Samaj has always stood. One of these took concrete shape on the death of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. To perpetuate his memory the Arya Samajists resolved to found the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College, Lahore. For several years to come the energies of the Arya Samajists went into the building up of this institution. It became the focus of Lajpat Rai's constructive endeavours also and he did his mighty best to make it an instrument of national education.

Lajpat Rai set up his practice at Hissar and made up for himself a name as a lawyer. There, too, he found two kindred souls—L Chura Mani and Pandit Lakhpat Rai. All of them worked hard to further the mission of the Arya Samaj and to consolidate the position of the D A V.

Collage, Lahore. It is needless to say that they gave to both their time and money ungrudgingly. For several years Lajpat Rai donated religiously a part of his income for this purpose.

Hissar was, however, too small a place for a person of Lajpat Rai's dynamic energies. So he shifted to Lahore. There he built up for himself an enviable practice, as a lawyer. But more than this, Mahatma Hans Raj and he built up a net-work of Arya Samajes and educational institutions. Both of them along with a host of others made the Arya Samaj a power for good in the Punjab.

1888 was a fateful year in the life of Lajpat Rai. So far the Arya Samaj with its programme of social reconstruction, educational expansion and spiritual revival had monopolised all his attention. But now he entered the political field. It may be asked why he did so. There are some who believe that Lajpat Rai found the field of the Arya Samaj too small for him and, therefore, entered the bigger field of politics. There are others who think that his association with the Arya Samaj had only been a preparation for his political work. I do not think this is true. He really

believed in some aspects of the mission of the Arya Samaj and worked whole-heartedly for them. But when all is said and done, one cannot but feel that Lajpat Rai was a patriot first and last and his interest in the Arya Samaj was also due to the fact that in it he found the means of national reconstruction. But he found after some years that the movement of Indian freedom was the most pressing one. The Indian National Congress was fighting this battle at that time (it has been fighting at ever since) and so as a soldier of freedom he joined it. It was characteristic of him that he prefaced his entry into politics by writing and publishing a number of biographies. This, it should be remembered, was his intellectual and spiritual preparation for the task. He wrote biographies of such Italian patriots as Mazzini and Garibaldi and such heroes of India as Sivaji, Shri Krishna and Swami Dayanand Saraswati. At the same time he wrote a series of letters to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in which he criticised his secession from the Congress. In spite of it, it should be remembered that Sir Syed Ahmed had at one time a very potent influence on the thoughts of Lajpat Rai.

That very year he went to attend the session of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad. It is thought that this session was convened by Pandit Ayodhya Nath in spite of the opposition of the authorities. To Lajpat Rai this was very intriguing situation, and could not but react to it in the way in which he did. All kinds of oppressions were abhorrent to his nature and he could not but take up arms against them. He was specially at his best when the oppressors happened to be the powers that be. At a time like this he rose to the full height of his stature and struck, vigorously. He was, in fact, one of those men who are at their best in dangerous situations, for these call forth their utmost courage. Like a Knight of old, he went joyfully into the fray. This was his first contact with the Congress, and he kept it up as long as he lived. The Congress dominated his life ever after, and politics came to occupy a very big part in his life.

In a short time he came to be one of the leading politicians of India. His position as such was recognised not only by the people but also by the Government, but far more by the people than by the Government. His views were solicited on every public question,

and his counsel was sought in every difficult situation. It should, however, be remembered that on all such occasions he acted like a true patriot. He did not seek any favour and did not yield to any fear. In 1901, the Government appointed the Famine Commission before which he was called as a witness. His evidence was so valuable and weighty that the Government had to change its policy with regard to the orphans and helpless children left in the famine. It was as a result of this that the Hindus along with the other communities had to organize orphanages for the protection of the children of their communities. In 1905, Lajpat Rai had to give a practical proof of his solicitude for the masses. This was the year when the devastating earthquake occurred in Kangra. This brought about untold loss of men and property. Lajpat Rai could not see all this spectacle of misery and sit quietly. The Lahore Arya Samaj organised relief committee, of which he became the secretary. In this connection he toured all over the Punjab and collected donations. He rendered much useful assistance to the people and earned their life long gratitude. That very year the Indian National Congress passed a resolution that two representative Indians should be sent abroad to acquaint the public with the conditions in India. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Lajpat Rai were selected for this purpose. Lajpat Rai toured England and delivered several speeches, in which he explained clearly what the British Raj had done in India. But more valuable than this was the message that he brought for India from abroad. This was three-fold. He was so struck with the educational systems that he saw abroad that on his return to India he felt it incumbent to make efforts to nationalise education. He also felt that the final test of a good Government was the general welfare of the masses. He came to realise it very vividly that for this purpose the Government should be in the hands of the people. At the same time he came to believe in the unlimited efficacy of the Swadeshi movement. He thought that this should be made the common religion of all Indians, and it should provide a meeting ground for Indians of different shades of thought and opinion. Some of these ideas he advocated vigorously at the Surat Session of the Indian National Congress in 1907. 1907 marked another landmark in the life of Lajpat Rai, for he was deported to Mandalay that year. This is how it came about. Attempts were made in the Punjab to increase

the water rate, and this caused a great deal of disaffection amongst the Zamindars. There was a widespread agitation against this measure in which Lajpat Rai took a leading part. At a public meeting in Lyallpur he delivered a fiery speech, as a consequence of which he was deported. In Mandalay, he wrote the well known book, *The Story of My Deportation*. After some months he was released. The first thing that he did on regaining liberty was to file a suit against an English newspaper, which had been defaming him by describing him as a seditionist. He won this case, and whatever money he got by way of damages he gave away in charity. Another thing that he did was to seek election to the Lahore Municipality. He was able to create so much enthusiasm for his candidature that even the deaf, the dumb and the maimed went to vote for him. It is said that one mute person took Lajpat Rai's photo with him to show for whom he was voting. In the Municipality he showed a great deal of civic interest and did much for the citizens.

In 1914 Lajpat Rai went to England, and from there he left for America, where he stayed for about six years. He left India because he did not feel safe during the reign of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In the

United States he spent his time in lecturing on Indian affairs and in writing books. He founded the Indian Home Rule League, and wrote such books as the *Arya Samaj*, *England's Debt to India*, *Young India* and several other books. He made very helpful friends there, whom he succeeded in interesting in the cause of India. There he made reputation for himself as a publicist in whose integrity the Americans could trust. When he left America, all his friends felt very depressed. It should be remembered that life in America was not a bed of roses for him. He used to cook his own meals and used to live mainly on the earnings from his articles and books which were not very abundant.

In 1920 Lajpat Rai came back to India, and his fellow-countrymen felt no end of joy at this. In Bombay, at Delhi and Lahore he received addresses of welcome. Then in September 1920 he was elected President of the special session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta. It was at that session that Mahatma Gandhi presented his programme of non-co-operation, but Lajpat Rai was at first opposed to it. But that very year at the Nagpur Session of the Congress, he joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi. Then he threw

himself heart and soul into this movement. Since one of the items of this new programme was the boycott of schools and colleges, he founded the National College at Lahore. He started also the Tilak School of Politics, which was something like the London School of Economics. In addition to it he collected nine lakhs of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund in about ten days. He made a whirlwind tour in the Punjab for this purpose, and so great was the regard of the people for him that wherever he went the people gave him their money ungrudgingly.

In December 1921 he was arrested, because public meetings being forbidden, he had presided over a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. He was tried in a Court of Law and was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. The message that he gave to the people at that time was full of patriotic fervour and showed that the man was made of steel. After a few months as a result of public agitation in the provincial council he was released but was again arrested. During this term of imprisonment he fell seriously ill. When it was found that his condition was very critical, a fortnight when the Simon Commission arrived at Lahore on the 20th of October 1928, Lajpat Rai had

hardly recovered fully from his illness when Pandit Moti Lal Nehru founded the Swaraj Party. Lajpat Rai joined it, and was elected to the Central Assembly. There he made himself once again famous by his fearless advocacy of the national cause. After some time he found that the Congress was not doing its duty by the Hindus. So he inaugurated the *Hindu Sangha* movement and worked strenuously for the unification of the Hindus. Then he sought re-election to the assembly and it was under his lead that the resolution advocating the boycott of the Simon Commission, which was coming to India to explore the possibilities of further constitutional development in India, was passed. In the meantime he paid a flying visit to Europe, and on his return from there he undertook a fiery campaign against the Simon Commission. Then the Nehru Report was published, in which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and his colleagues taking up the challenge of the Secretary of State for India outlined a scheme of Swaraj for India. Lajpat Rai was so impressed with it that he intended to tour over the whole of India to do propaganda in its favour. He had hardly begun his

a procession of citizens of Lahore to demonstrate their disaffection with the Simon Commission. This was declared unlawful, and in order to disperse the crowd, the police made a lathi charge. Lajpat Rai received some grievous hurts on this occasion and as a result of them fell ill. He never recovered from this illness and passed away on the morning of the 17th of November 1928, on account of heart failure.

Thus passed away Lajpat Rai, and by his death left a void in the public life of India, which nothing can fill up. But he also left behind a glorious legacy—the legacy of high and selfless patriotic endeavour. One may judge him by any standard and one will come to the conclusion that he was great. Yet his greatness is not some kind of self-aggrandisement but that based on service of others. Three things stand out pre-eminently in his life, and these alone can be his title to immortality. First, he had a genius for making friends, and friends of the right type. At college he made friends with Mahatma Hans Raj and Pt. Guru Dutt. At Hissar he won the confidence of Pt. Lakhpat Rai and Lala Chura Mani and when he came to Lahore, he had a noble band of friends. His friends were not confined to one place but were spread over almost all the countries of the world. His friend-

ships were, however, not based on superficial social relationships, but on a deep love of some common cause and on a willingness to suffer and make sacrifices for that cause. Even if a person met him casually, he was impressed with his flaming patriotic ardour. His patriotism was not, however, merely of the sentimental variety; it was militant on the one hand it was a constructive force on the other. No one could be more aggressive than Lajpat Rai when a wrong had to be set right or some injustice had to be redressed. He was also in his element when some solid work had to be done for the nation. It is needless to give a list of such things for they will fill several pages. There is enough to remember that there was hardly any sphere of national welfare to which he did not contribute something. If he had a patriot's fervour, he had also a patriot's lot. Imprisonment, deportation, self-imposed exile, all these were his and he bore them cheerfully. But in every situation he found friends, who shared his suffering or collaborated with him in his work. Another thing that distinguished him was his gift of self-expression. This he cultivated throughout his life. He was a bookman and a voracious reader. But all that he read, he shared with others through his writings and his speeches. The number of books that he wrote is very large, and he was one of those rare persons to

whom public speaking came naturally. At the age of eighteen, he was the ornament of the platform of the Arya Samaj and to the last day of his life he retained his oratorical powers. Yet he was not merely an academic speaker. He had the highest kind of oratory which stimulates people into action. He was above all a born leader of men. He could lead movements as very few men can. To enumerate the movements to which he made a very vital contribution will be futile. One can say only this much that all progressive movements, social, religious, educational, economic and political, found, in him a great champion. In the last period of his life he founded the Servants of People Society with the object of training public workers. All these are his greatest memorial is the example of noble patriotism that he has left behind.

This patriotism he translated into several concrete things, most of which have already been enumerated. There is hardly any aspect of our national life which he did not enrich. In a way he covered the whole field of education. His contribution to the D. A. V. College, Lahore is already well-known. Besides it, he founded the National College, the Tilak School of Politics and the Dwarkadass Library. At one time he drew up a

scheme of primary education which, it is a pity, he could not put in force. On journalism, too, he left his impress. He founded the "Bande-Matram," an Urdu Daily and the "People" an English Weekly. In the field of business too, he left his mark. The Punjab National Bank Ltd., owes a great deal to him and it was he who sponsored the Lakshmi Insurance Co., Ltd. No one could be more keen on philanthropy than he. The destitute children of the nation found a father in him, and he built a home for the consumptives, known as "The Gulabdevi Hospital." Almost every movement in India found in him a friend. The Kisans, the workers, the youth of India, he befriended every one of them. He built up the Servants of People Society so that patriotic young men should be able to devote all their time and energy to national service without the dread of starvation. He stimulated the feeling for social *reform and unification among Hindus*, but more than any thing, he remained a life-long worker in the cause of national unity. For national service, he founded in the Indian National Congress the most befitting instrument, and, he served it whole-heartedly. To speak the truth, he served his country at home as well as abroad, by his pen as well as with his tongue, through the legislature as well as outside. It is no wonder that his name will always remain enshrined in the grateful memories of his countrymen.

A WORTHY SON OF INDIA

By: M. S. ANEY.

I had the privilege to be associated with late Lala Lajpat Rai as the secretary of the Nationalist Party in the Central Assembly, of which he was the leader since 1926 onwards to the time of his death. His contributions to the debates in the house and discussions in the committee meetings were always weighty, informed and inspiring. I consider that period of my life, as one of probation which had been most useful and instructive to me in my later public life. It was indeed both a privilege and pleasure to be associated with this great leader for some years. He won by his great abilities and political sagacity the respect of all the non-official parties in the legislature and all the members on the treasury benches also, whom he had to attack and oppose mercilessly very often.

Lala Lajpatrai is one of those renowned leaders of India of the last generation who sacrificed everything for the service of the motherland. He gave to the country ungrudgingly all that was best in him. He had the rare gift of being able to use his speech and pen with same facility. He had a reputation for clarity of thought and lucidity of expression. He was a brilliant speaker and a powerful writer. His speeches and writings used to appeal to the heart as much as the head. Lalaji used to rise to exceptional heights of oratory whenever there was a worthy cause to defend. It was like a battery that carried almost everything instantaneously before it. He suffered long for his frank and fearless championship of the cause of Mother India. He had to pass a number of years as an exile in distant lands. But even in that period of sorrows and sufferings he

worked hard to arouse the sympathies of the people of the democratic states like U. S. A. and succeeded in creating certain centres of sympathy for suffering India there. He may be appropriately described as

the first non-official ambassador of America on a political mission. He was not merely an agitator with a negative programme of criticism of the British bureaucracy in India and the British Imperialists in England but also a profound student of public educationist and a great social reformer. He was probably one of the pioneer Indian politicians to deal with problems relating to Insurance and Banking not in the spirit of an

academic economist but of a practical businessman. As one of the makers of modern India he is entitled to the everlasting gratitude of his countrymen.

In the days of anti-partition forming the Trinity of Indian politics. They were the idols of popular worship. They fought all their lives before they left this mortal world that India had entered on the struggle with the grim determination to win her liberty. and their goal, though still distant, was definitely in sight.

INDIA'S LION LALA LAJPATRAI

BY: R. K. KARANJIA

EDITOR BLITZ

17th November 1956 marks the memorable anniversary of lionine Lala Lajpat Rai whose thunderous roar still fills the Indian air

Lajpat Rai's name was a national legend in the days of my childhood. The hon-hearted son of the Punjab formed the famous trinity of Lal-Bal-Pal Punjab's Lala Lajpat Rai, Maharashtra's Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bengal's Bipin Chandra Pal. All the three were associated with the country's heroic struggle for freedom and were worshipped by India's suppressed millions. All the three possessed towering personalities and, with their born fighters courage, leadership and self-sacrifice, roused the country into patriotic fervour. They blazed the path of Indian nationalism and national self respect and brought a new inspiration and new hope to hopeless millions.

Very few Indian national leaders have had the range of romantic experiences and adventures that Lalaji had been privileged to live through. His life was a long and colourful saga. Its appeal and fascination are destined to retain their freshness and can never be dimmed in Indian memory. In paying a grateful tribute to this great and immortal patriot's memory today we would do well to retrace the events of the valiant Punjabi's life.

Lajpat Rai came into this world in 1865 at Jagraon in Ludhiana district. His father, Lala Kishen Lal, was a teacher in government Urdu school and his mother one of those gentle, deeply religious women whose devotion to home, affection and training play such a vital part in the formation of character in the lives of men like Lalaji. Kishen Lal was

a great admirer of Swami Dayanand of the great political organization Saraswati, revolutionary founder of Arya Samaj, and Sir Syed Ahmed who had not yet broken away from the Indian National Congress. Lalaji always acknowledged his-and the nation's-debt to the humble school-master and his devoted wife but for whose influence he would not have become what he became.

After finishing his school studies, Lalaji came to Lahore to join the Government College. He took up law studies and launched himself as Vakil in 1895. He practised at Hissar and later came to Lahore. He possessed a lucrative practice but, instead of concentrating on a legal career, interested himself in activities of social and educational progress. He took up the work of Dayanand Saraswati as it channelized his zeal for service and salvation of the people.

At Lahore, in the depressing atmosphere, of the late nineties he launched a powerful drive with his gifted pen and oratory to arouse national consciousness amongst the people. He joined the Indian National Congress and attended the Allahabad session which was held in defiance of Government. He pressed himself wholly in the service

With his love for the service of the people, Lalaji found himself in the forefront of every progressive movement and activity that promoted the lost cause of the people. Even the Government recognized this when he was invited to give evidence before the Famine Commission of 1901 and changed its policy and fell in line with Lalji's views on the provision of the orphans and other famine victims. In the disastrous earthquake in Kangra of 1905, Lalaji-organized valuable relief activities.

In the same year, the Indian National Congress sent him and G. K. Gokhale to England on a propaganda mission. He toured all over England, lectured extensively and educated English public opinion on India's cause of freedom. When he returned, he had brought with him the inspiration of his foreign tour. He realized that no progress was possible without political power and that intensification of the national struggle must be the strategic aim of all educational and social reform. He discovered in the Swadeshi movement an instrument of nationalist propaganda and a creed of inter-provincial unity and solidarity.

In the stormy session of the Surat Congress of 1907 which marked an important point of departure in the entire Congress policy, he pleaded passionately for the Swadeshi moment. The 'extremist' elements like Tilak, Lajpatrai and other leaders rescued the national organization from the academicians of freedom who merely passed annual resolutions but shirked the real struggle for freedom. It was a turning-point in the history of the great political organization. When in the same year, Lalaji launched the agitation against increased water-tax in the Punjab. Government used the opportunity for deporting him to Mandalay.

He had to be released after some months and plunged himself deeper than ever in the political activities interrupted by his internment. Under the notorious Michael O'Dwyer 'Raj' in the Punjab, Lalaji found it necessary go to England and from there to America. He founded the Indian Home Rule League, wrote a number of books and worked incessantly to promote the cause of Indian freedom. He returned to his country in 1920 and was honoured with the presidentship of the Indian National Congress. 'At the Nagpur session,

Mahatma Gandhi came on the national scene with his non-co-operation movement. Lalaji was the first to embrace it enthusiastically and, in pursuance of the programme of national education along with boycott of government schools and colleges, he founded the *National College*, the *Tilak School of Politics* and the *Servants of the People Society*.

Lalaji was arrested in 1921 and got one year's imprisonment. He had however to be released soon under the pressure of popular agitation when he fell seriously ill. Despite his ill-health, Lalaji joined the Swaraj Party founded by the late Motilal Nehru. He collaborated with him in the publication of the *Nehru Report on Indian constitution*. When the nation boycotted the Simon Commission, he led a demonstration at Lahore station, received police lathi blows and soon after died a martyr to the cause of Indian freedom. Bhagat Singh later claimed to have avenged the lathi-blows by shooting the English Superintendent of Police who hit Lalaji and paying the death penalty for it.

We owe the greatest debt to the memory of the heroic, fighting spirit of this tough Punjabi who revolutionized the outlook of his

enslaved people and gave them virtue. His lion's roar reached from inspiration, courage and vision. Like Quetta to Cape Camorin and aroused Tilak, he stormed through and battered the people into thought of their ed the walls of depression and slavery and action for salvation. apathy at a time when it was a hopeless task. He fought against all odds and made the highest sacrifice with imprisonment, exile and every description of suffering so that the nation should live in freedom. His great intelligence, energy and everything he possessed were pressed in the service of the people whose cause he promoted with the idealist's self-effacement. The poor, the oppressed and the inarticulate found in him a friend and protector. In the late nineties and earlier in this century, there were few voices that boomed in the death-like silence, fear and degradation of foreign ser-

India has made great progress in nationalist political thought since Lala Lajpat Rai lived and died. But he was one of the few men who possessed and translated the vision of Indian independence and national salvation. He was a pioneer and path-finder. His was the dynamic personality, the inspired, persuasive speech and above all, the spirit that burnt like a steady flame to chase away the darkness that had engulfed the crores of humanity of this country. We salute today to the spirit of this great Messiah of India's struggle for freedom.

Political Thought of Lajpat Rai-Nationalism.

(By Prof. P. N. Kirpal, M.A., LL.B., B.A. (oxon.))

By character and temperament, Lajpat Rai was a man of action. In an environment congenial to his ideals he would have accomplished much in the service of his fellowmen. But British rule in the India of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not take kindly to what he believed in, and he was the type of man who would make no compromise at the expense of ideals. So his life was one of constant conflict. His practical genius was frustrated by the necessity of having to fight constantly in the wilderness of opposition. It is a tragedy of great national conflicts that immense constructive ability and energy are often dissipated in emotional struggles.

Lajpat Rai's ideal was Indian Nationalism; for this ideal he worked, suffered and ultimately laid down his life. He was not a mere worker in the cause of Nationalism. He gave the nationalist sentiment his own stamp and a new meaning. His thought coloured the nationalist movement and gave it a new turn. Exile and imprisonment

afforded time for reflection and Lajpat Rai thought and wrote a good deal on India and her problems.

What is Lajpat Rai's contribution to the emergence of a new conception of Nationalism? To him patriotism meant an intense love of liberty and justice and was a matter of self-respect. It was a powerful feeling which emanated from the heart and its intensity gave it the loftiness of a vision. This feeling was supported by a convincing theory of nationalism, deriving its inspiration from India's past.

History was interpreted to support nationalism. To Lajpat Rai, British rule in India represented almost the only period of subjection alien rule, and it was the most demoralising phase in the history of the country. Indian history, according to him, rolled back to thousands of years before the Christian era. In spite of the mystery and uncertainty which concealed the true picture of ancient India, it was clear that India then possessed, "a marvellous

civilisation, a wonderful literature, a well organised social system, a conception of Government based on law and on the legal rights of subjects *inter se* as well as against the ruling monarch Democratic institutions and the idea of Universal Sovereignty over the whole of India were familiar to the Hindus. The Mauryan Emperors represented the greatness of the country. Chandragupta Maurya defeated the Greeks and completed the development of an elaborate system of Government which could compare favourably with modern institutions. Asoka was indeed, the greatest and noblest Emperor of all times. India, was practically independent upto the 12th century and then followed six centuries of Moslem rule. Muslim Rule, however, was not foreign domination. Like the Normans and Danes who conquered England, the Moslems settled down in India, adopted the country, made it their home, married and raised children there and became the sons of the soil. Sher Shah and Ibrahim Lodhi were no more foreigners in India than were the descendants of William the Conqueror or the successors of William of Orange in Great Britain. The Muslim rulers spent in India every penny of the revenue

they raised in the country. Their bias, if any, against the Hindus was religious, not political. There was no racial question which divided the Hindus from the Muslims. The Hindus served in the highest offices of the State, they were governors of provinces, generals of armies and rulers of districts and divisions. "The Muslims never attempted to disarm the population. They did not recruit their servants from Arabia or Persia or Afghanistan. They had no Lankashire industries to protect, and were under no necessity of imposing excise duties on Indian made goods. Their Government was entirely indigenous.

Such was Lajpat Rai's interpretation of the History of India prior to British rule. He concluded "History does not record a single instance of India being ruled from without by a people of purely non Indian blood and in the interests of another country and another people, before the British India was always an Empire by herself. She was never a part of another empire much less a dependency. She had her own army, her own navy, her own flag. Her revenues were spent for her own benefit. She had her industries and manufactured the goods the con-

sumed.....There was no India office in Arabia or in Persia or in Kabul, to which the people of India looked for initiative in the affairs of their native land."

British rule in India, however, made an entirely different story. It made all the difference. "For the first time in history India has been reduced to the position of a dependency. For the first time in her history she is ruled from outside, by a sovereign who does not live in India, who sends at every five years a Viceroy to administer the affairs of the country under the authority of a minister in a foreign land. For the first time her affairs are managed by people who come and go, under laws made outside of India. All the chief offices of State, the direction and control of armies, the administration of revenues, of divisions, of districts, the coming of money, the administration of justice, the imposition of taxes etc., are generally in the hands of foreigners, who have absolutely no interest in the country. These servants are recruited and appointed out of India. Indians as such are virtually ineligible for many of these offices." Not only did the character of Government undergo a complete change with the coming of

the British rulers, racial cleavage also became acute and brought many social and political disabilities for the Indians. "The offspring of Englishmen, domiciled in India and married to an Indian woman loses rank and status by that fact; nor does the issue of an Indian gentleman from an English woman gain anything thereby. The inferiority in both ways lies in Indian blood and Indian origin. The British officials come as rulers and till the end remain the same. Their sons and grandsons also may in their turn come as rulers but never as sons. The sons of India, who gain the rank of officials, are only servants of the British. Their position in the Indian service is generally that of hewers of wood and drawers of water for their British masters." These 'British masters' took every opportunity of asserting racial superiority and showing mistrust of Indians. All Europeans, Eurasians including Armenians and Jews could carry arms free of license; not so the Indians. Even outside India the Indian carried the badge of subjection with him. The British Colonies discriminated most strongly against him. He was a pariah all over the world. The British Government put many obstacles in the way of Indian Nationalist, who wished to travel in Europe and America.

No doubt many British statesmen, politicians, publicists and journalists, talked of the blessings of British rule in India and no one could deny certain amount of material progress, born of technical advances in Science and Industry, which had extended to India. But to this Lajpat Rai replied that good Government could never be a substitute for self-government, even assuming that the British did give good Government. "Can it compensate for the loss of manhood which is involved in political bondage? Chains are chains, no matter if they are gilded. Can the wealth of the whole world be put in scales against liberty and honour? What would it avail if one were to get the sovereignty of the world but lose his own soul? A subject people has no soul, just as a slave can have none."

It was this soul-force which Lajpat Rai introduced into the Nationalist movement of India and thus elevated it to the level of an inspiration, which could move individuals and stir the masses to the greatest sacrifices in the cause of the Motherland—the cause of right and justice. The early Nationalist movement of the last century was too mild, too intellectual and almost exotic. The gentlemen who founded the Indian National Con-

gress and attended its annual sessions were liberals, not nationalists. Their liberalism was derived from the West, from a superficial study of British History and an intense admiration for British institutions. To them India's past was blank and, perhaps, bleak, and the salvation lay in the gradual introduction of parliamentary institutions under the guidance of the British rulers. These men basked in the warmth of the British rule which gave them some social status among their own countrymen and substantial incomes in the professions. They made speeches, passed resolutions, and were quite thrilled, when they were invited to attend parties in the Government House. They were loyal men essentially and from them no great sacrifices could come in the struggle for freedom.

Lajpat Rai was one of those who gave a new substance and a new emphasis to Indian Nationalism. It is true that the new substance and the new emphasis were already in the air and the various religious revivals had aroused pride and admiration for India's past. But it was Lajpat Rai who put the new tendencies into a coherent theory of nationalism supported by an appeal to a glorious past, an intense consciousness of existing wrongs and a splendid faith in ultimate victory.

His interpretation of history had an element of fanaticism in it, but it was substantially correct. The alien character of the British rule in India and its exploitation of India's economic wealth were new factors in History, which had no parallels in the period of the Muslim rule. The wrongs which British rule had directly or indirectly perpetrated on the soul of India were patent. A lover of justice, freedom and equality, Lajpat Rai hated the distinctions based on race and colour, which, inspite of the professions of British Government continued to exist in India. With his historical interpretation and his keen sense of wrong done by British rule to India, he contributed to the transformation of the nineteenth century exotic liberalism into the 20th century indigenous nationalism. Nationalism became positive and confident, able to stand on its own legs and capable of bearing pain and suffering in the cause of freedom.

Above all Lajpat Rai inspired the country with a new hope and faith. The struggle was likely to be long and hard but there was no doubt as to the ultimate victory:—
‘A movement of this nature never dies. The battle of freedom once begun is carried on from father to son,—is as good to-day as it never

was. Success may come at once, or be delayed, or the issue may be confused, according to the wisdom or the folly of its advocates, or the amount of earnestness they put in it, or the amount of influence they have over the masses, as well as by the wisdom or short-sightedness or cunning of those who, oppose it. All the world over, progressive political movements have had vicissitudes of fortune, stages of development, times of reactions, defeats and reverses. Governments always begin by ignoring such movements. Then comes a period of ridicule, followed by repression. But their efforts are futile. The food on which the tender plant of liberty thrives is the blood of the martyr. The rope of the hangman, the axe of the executioner, or the shot of the gunner, extinguishes individual life, only to make the desire for corporate life keener and stronger. Banishments, deportations, imprisonments, tortures, and confiscations are the usual weapons of the tyrant to strangle liberty, to extirpate those that are after it, but they have so far proved ineffectual to kill it,’

Lajpat Rai's faith in liberty and justice must live on and steel the youthful Indian nation in the years of struggle that lie ahead.

Thoughts, Speeches and Writings

NATIONALISM FERTILISED BY BLOOD OF MARTYRS.

No amount of repression or espionage can stop it. No amount of official terrorism and devices, invented or followed to inculcate loyalty, can stop or check the flow of the new feeling of patriotism and nationalism which is being constantly fed by the sentences of death and transportation that the British courts are passing on beardless youths. The Government cannot help it. They must punish the offender and the criminal. They must hunt up the seditionist. They would not be a government if they would do otherwise, but India is now in that stage and Indian Nationalism is in that condition when repression, death sentences, and imprisonments are more beneficial to it than otherwise. The more it is repressed and suppressed, the more this spirit grows and spreads. It is a seed that is reachly fertilised by the blood of martyrs. The people do not argue, they do not reason, they do not analyse; they feel that good, well connected, healthy beautiful boys are dying in the country's cause and to get a redress of the country's wrongs. When a bomb is thrown, the people genuinely condemn the bomb thrower, are sincere in their detestation, but when he is hanged or transported, they are sorry for him. Their original abhorrence changes into sympathy and then into love. He is a martyr for the national cause. He may be misguided, even mad, but he is a martyr all the same. The moralist and the legalist and the loyalist and the constitutionalist all condemn their deeds, but the doers themselves they adore, and their names, they enshrine in their hearts.

[Lajpat Rai, *Young India*.]

Interval Division No Valid Plea.

India has and can produce enough to feed her own children,—and to spare, provided she were free to make her own laws, spend her own revenues, and, protect her industries. Those who plead that Indians are too hopelessly divided by religions, communities, sects, castes, and languages, to be able to form a government of their own forget that the English have been in India only for the last century and a half and that before that India governed herself. The India of to-day is in no way happier than the India of pre-British days. The India of Akbar was happier than the England of Elizabeth and even more prosperous. The India of Asoka infinitely happier and more prosperous than the England of Alfred the Great. The India of Aurangzeb may perhaps have been miserable, but surely not miserable, than the England of Henry VIII, or the England of James I, or the Scotland of Mary, or the Ireland of Cromwell, or the France of Henry IV, or the Holland of Philip. We have the testimony of English historians and observers that under the East India Company Indians were in no way happier or more prosperous than they were under Indian rule, and the objects of Indian States in India governed by Indians are on the whole in no way worse off than British subjects under the direct rule of the British.

Look at the United States, how the varied races, sects, religions and communities have merged their differences and live under one national government; look at the number of languages spoken in United States—in their schools and their factories. Look at Switzerland, what a tiny little country it is. How many languages are spoken and taught in its school and how many languages are spoken and used in its councils, and how many religions are professed by the people of the country!

The same remarks may be made about the dual monarchy of Austria Hungry, where the form of government is largely representative in spite of the diversity of races, sects and languages.

The number of religions, sects and languages in India has been grossly exaggerated. With every census the number goes up by hundreds through the country and the people are the same.

Illiteracy the Fault of the British and no Bar to Self Government

Again it is sometimes said that India cannot be self-ruling because of its illiteracy. This argument does not come with good grace from the Britishers because it is they who are responsible for the appalling illiteracy of the Indian population. In Japan where the work of education was begun late in the last century, 28 per cent. of the children of school age were at school in 1873; by 1902-1903 the percentage had risen to 90. In India, after 150 years of British rule, the percentage is 19.6. The Indian Nationalists have for a number of years been asking for compulsory universal education, but the Government would not listen. The late Mr. Gokhale's Compulsory Elementary Education Bill was strongly opposed by the Government and thrown out. But what is even worse is that the Government would not let the people open their own schools and colleges because of the unreasonably high standard set up by the Department for their recognition as public schools.

However, universal literacy of the people is not an indispensable pre-requisite of self-rule. In Japan, where 50 years ago representative government was set up, only the Samurai were literate. In India, too, the higher classes are educated to a considerable extent.

England has enjoyed parliamentary government for centuries, but universal education was only introduced in 1870.

[*Lajpat Rai, Young India.*]

Nationalism has Come to Stay

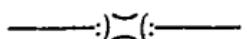
Let England try an experiment by repealing the Arms Act and giving a parliamentary government to India and see if these considerations effectively stand in the way of progress. Be that as it may, however, one thing seems to be assured and certain, that Indian Nationalism can neither be killed nor suppressed by repression, nor by minor concessions. Nationalism has come to stay and will stay. What the upshot will be, is known only to the gods. England may win or lose in the great war in which she is engaged. Indian Nationalism will gain in either case. We need not consider how India will fare if England loses. She may come under Mohammedan domination or the Germans may take possession of her; the English would be gone and then India would enter upon a new life India does not want it. She will resist it with all her strength. But if it comes she can't help it and Great Britain would be responsible for having brought it. In case, however, England wins, as she is likely to, then Indian Nationalism will still gain. There will be a demand for political advance, for a change in the political status of the country and in its relations towards England and her colonies. From what we know of English temper, of English political machinery, of English political methods, of English ways and of English history, that demand is sure to be refused. Some minor, petty concessions may be made, but they would be disproportionate to the sacrifices of man and money that India is making in the war. The will not satisfy the country. Disaffection and discontent will grow and that is the kind of food on which Nationalism thrives and prospers. So long as there are Curzons, Maedonnels, and Sydenhams in the English Parliament, Indian Nationalism will not starve for want of congenial food. And we have no reason to think that these dignitaries of the British Government are likely to disappear.

[Lajpat Rai, *Young India*.]

LIFE AND WORK OF L. LAJPAT RAI.

What India Wants

A Sense of Public Duty and a High Standard of Public Morality



A question has often haunted us, asleep or awake, as to why is it that notwithstanding the presence amongst us of great, vigorous and elevating religious truths, and of the very highest conception of morality, we have been a subject race, held down for so many centuries by sets of people who were neither physically nor spiritually nor even intellectually so superior to us as a *fortiori* to demand our subjection.

We do not require a Herbert Spencer to tell us that the social efficiency of a social organism as such depends upon the sense of social responsibility amongst the members of such an organism. The greater and intenser the sense of responsibility amongst the individual members, regarding the safety and the welfare of the whole, the greater and the stronger the efficiency of the organism.

It is precisely this sense which is wanting in us and which stands in our way as a nation. Physically we are the equals of any people on earth. Barring those high class Hindus who think their glory consists in weak constitutions, delicate limbs and womanly features or who are given to determine their position in society by the amount of fat on their body and by the amount of physical inactivity which attend their business in life, the majority of our countrymen possess fine physiques and are able to withstand any amount of hardship and struggle. Even with the little they get satisfy their coarse food, scanty clothing ill-ventilated and excessively crowded homesteads they produce a soldiery which ranks amongst the best in the world. Whether it be the Rajput, the Jat, the Sikh, the Gurkha, the Panjabi, the Mahratta, or the Punjabi Mussulman the view

expressed above, holds equally good in the case of all. All of them have, by turns, earned the highest praises of military experts under whom they had occasion to serve beneath the British flag. Whatever may be said of the many mistakes of head and heart by which they lost their own battles before the advent of the British, no one can question their bravery and valour. History is full of their deeds. Intellectually too, given the opportunities, the sons of India have given no occasion to shame their mother country. The Hindu civilization, the Buddhist achievements are standing monuments of their high intellectual calibre. Under Mohammadan rule as well, when according to the celebrated Alberuni, the elite of the Hindu community sought the safety of the remotest and the farthest parts of the country to be secure from the molestation of the fanatically disposed Muhammadans, the country continued to produce intellectual giants whose names still shed lustre on the country of their birth. Under the British, too, with the few opportunities that are possessed by the Indian scholar to distinguish himself the country has produced a Bose, a Ramchandra, a Paranjape, a Ranade, and many others whose names are the common property of all Indians. Then if we look to the domain of religion we stand almost unequalled. What other country in Europe can show the equals of the unknown authors of the Upanishads, Buddha and Shankracharya?

From religion if we come down to the regions of philosophy, where in one country could we find such a galaxy of truth-loving, honest and bold thinkers, as the immortal authors of the six Darshanas, and some of their commentators and elucidators? Again, glancing at the history of chivalry and noble deeds, does not the history of the Rajputs read like a romance? Why, then, are we so low in the scale of nations? What is it that keeps us down and does not allow us to raise our head above the waters? We are not wanting in flexibility or adaptability. Where on earth will you find another case parallel to Hinduism? Notwithstanding 12 centuries of Islamic propaganda backed by all forces of political ascendancy and of that moral superiority which is the anchor sheet of a virgin religion and a conquering creed; notwithstanding again of 100 years of active evangelical work done in the name of Christ by devoted Missionaries, Hinduism still reigns supreme in the land and baffles all attempts made from time to time, to displace and overthrow it. How is it then, that with all the education we have received during the one century of British rule, with frantic profession of patriotism that are the natural result of a knowledge of our degradation and helplessness, with wild cries of nationality

in danger, with pathetic appeals for reforms in the administration of the country, we have so far failed to gain anything substantial in our quest after national liberty? How is it that our cries make no impression, our appeals go unheeded, and our professions turn to be of no avail? While sparing no occasion or means of criticising Government measures, very often offering right and sensible criticism, with that amount of persistency which sometimes we show, we are yet powerless to obtain even the smallest measure of reform either in constitution or in administration, or even of remedial justice? Why, leaving the political sphere aside, how is it that even in matters of social reform which being in our hands no Government prevents us from giving effect to, we have so far failed to achieve that amount of success which the Herculean efforts of men like Ram Mohan Rai, Dyanand Saraswati, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahadev Govind Ranade deserved? The reply is the same as we have already given above. We are individually wanting in that sense of social responsibility which requires each and every member of the organism to place the interests of the community or the nation over and above those of his own. Amongst us selfishness, greed and calculation reign supreme. ~~most of us cannot even think of the society or the community or the nation.~~ But even those who can think and do profess to care for them do not care a farthing for the same, when their own individual interests seem to clash with the interests of the society. Most of us, including some of the very highly educated men, who do not fail, to exhibit often an unpardonable pride in the amount of learning, locked in their brains who very readily spend hours in finding fault with the commas and semicolons of less gifted brethren, who do not fail to parade their knowledge of the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, of the Science of Huxley or of the fine poetic genius of a Shelley or a Tennyson are utterly devoid of a sense of social responsibility.

We know that men who denounced the institution of child marriage in the vehement language they could command, were at the same time conscious of the fact that they had themselves already fixed a date for the marriage of their seven years aged girl with a boy of similarly tender age. We have known men whose professions of great patriotism were often the most profuse giving a point blank refusal to any demand of help for any national institution: We have known of great patriots rolling in wealth, possessing palatial residences

enjoying the blessing of a good fixed income, never moving their finger to reduce misery that was next door to them. We have seen great patriotic Indians passing by in a spirit of perfect indifference when another countryman of theirs was being cruelly beaten by an European. No Indian is supposed to make any move unless such move pays or benefits him in cash or in kind in any way. If you go to a gentleman to ask him to join such and such an association or to do such and such a thing, the question that he puts to you or, if he has not the courage to do so openly, to himself, is what shall he gain thereby? We know that people give subscriptions, attend meetings, join Associations, and Samajes and do a lot of other things that have the look of public spirit or national help but how many of them, may we ask, except when moved by religion, do so by a sense of public duty and individual responsibility for the national cause? It is very unpleasant to speak ill of one's own countrymen or to appear to be ungrateful to those estimable gentlemen who do keep public movements going but to be truthful we shall be failing in our duty if we were to pretend a belief in their patriotism. It is our firm belief that if the country could have claim-

ed the one-tenth part of that patriotism which is often paraded and assumed, the state of things would have been different and no Government could have ignored the existence or the demands of such patriotic riotism. But the facts are otherwise; not that the social ideals taught by our religion are low and mean, not that this rank selfishness and base calculation of self-interest is countenanced by the teachings of our great men, not that this sense of national and public duty is entirely absent from the teachings of our Shastras. No political degradation for so long has practically extinguished the very germs of this noble sentiment from our blood. Our immediate ancestors did not possess it so we could not inherit it from them. As for its inculcation from without we are sorry that the advantages of western culture have not been unmixed. While very few have imbibed its noble sentiments, a large number have taken and adopted in life its materialistic tendencies. We know that we require the latter, too, rather badly but we cannot forget, that if, we once allow ourselves to be possessed of these only without the other necessary and counteracting tendencies, we are done for. The country may grow, rich, it may extend its commerce, it might even

begin to manufacture for other countries; but unless all this is accompanied by a sense of public duty in the people of this country, all this will not avail us, nay, might be the very foundation of future fall, if further fall is yet possible. Yes, we want all this, but first and foremost of all we want the habit and sense of subordinating our individual interests to end before the interests of the community at large. In short, what we pre-eminently want is that every Indian may be sufficiently patriotic and dutiful to believe and act up to the belief that the interests of the country are paramount and must override all private considerations. We want this to be regularly taught as the highest religion that will bring about the salvation of India. To propagate this we want faithful and true preachers who may be living examples of the truth of their propaganda and who can show the power of their faith in their own persons. Let each province produce a number of such preachers and we are convinced that patriotism will gain firm ground in the country and the cause of nationality will advance with leaps and bounds. Without this we may go on crying for decades and decades but we shall not advance an inch.

[Lajpat Rai, *The Call to Young India.*]

The Hero As Nation Builder

And, let it be remembered, Lala Lajpat Rai was not what might perhaps be called without offence an imitation patriot. He was not a follower of this or that school of politicians or patriots or reformers; he owed allegiance to no particular party, no unquestioning obedience to any political or social master; for, his was a genius bubbling with original ideas, fertile in fruitful methods of political and social action. It was not, however, ostrichlike; for it did not refuse to draw nourishment from other like geniuses, here and elsewhere, dead and living. And it, was multi-sided. Lajpat Rai combined in himself the religious fire of Vivekananda and Dayanand, the moral fervour of Gandhi and Tagore, the political vision of Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh, the practical genius of Naoroji, Ranaide and Gokhale. He has preached for the cause of his country with the ardour and religious zeal of a missionary; he has laboured for its poor and depressed as only a patriot can; has sacrificed his immense earnings for it with the readiness of a most generous-hearted and willing philanthropist; has suffered for it obloquy and exile with the conscious and victorious resignation of great martyr. In him, the Hero appears and shines as a Nation-Builder.

[Preface to *The Call to Young India.*]

India = A World Menace.

(By Lala Lajpat Rai)

Towards the conclusion of her and prosperity, particularly in my book Miss Mayo declares that being born times. Before Great Britain acquired India she was rather a poor home and the source of epidemics, India is a world menace. We country without very notable resources and without any Empire. Indian agree that India is a world menace. Only we look at it in a different way. We have proved from facts and figures given in this book that the responsibility for such a state of things lies on the British, who hold India in state of political subjection and who use their political dominance for the economic exploitation of India. Unless therefore India's political helplessness is removed and she is given the freedom which is enjoyed by other self-governing nations, India must continue to be a danger to the world from both the health and the peace points of view. India is the pivot of the British Empire; and India and China between them hold the key of world peace. From times immemorial India has been the goal of empire-builders' ambitions. Whoever holds India holds the key to world dominance to-day. This opinion is shared by

acquired India she was rather a poor wealth enabled her to bring about the industrial revolution and to amass Indian gold and Indian wealth. Indian troops enabled her to conquer the world. Almost every bit of territory she holds in Asia and Africa, was acquired after she had secured the mastery of India. India has and is the base of the empire in the orient. This is a fact which no amount of verbal jugglery can change. Most of Britain's wars with the other powers of Europe or Asia were directly or indirectly connected with her rule in India. Ever since she established her rule in India she has been quarrelling with Russia. For over a century the Russia of the Czars was on the brains of British diplomats and journalists just as Soviet Russia is

many competent observers—among them Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, became champion of the integrity of an American writer of repute. His book *The New Map of Asia* opens with this thesis. According to Mr. Gibbons, all through the 19th century—as in the 20th—Britain's foreign policy was governed by considerations of the safety of the British Empire in India. The different phases of British foreign policy fully bear out this contention. Mr. Gibbons has admirably summed up and explained these phases in the opening chapter of his book. We prefer to let the story be narrated by this American author:

"None can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain, which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic Wars to the present day; who does not interpret wars, diplomatic conflicts, treaties and alliances, territorial annexations, extensions of protectorates, with the fact India constantly in mind.

"It was for India that the British fought Napoleon in the Mediterranean, Egypt and Syria. At the Congress of Vienna, Great Britain asked for nothing in Europe. Her reward was the confirmation of her conquest of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, the Seychelles and

the Ottoman Empire in order to bar to any other power the land route to India. When Mohammad Ali, starting from Egypt, sent his armies to overthrow the Ottoman Empire, he found a British fleet and army in Syria, just as Napoleon had found them. Against the natural instinct of the British people, the Foreign Office consistently opposed the *affranchisement* of the Balkan States, and condoned the massacres of Christians by Muslims. The Crimean War was fought to protect Turkey and if the treaty of San Stefano had not been renounced, Lord Beaconsfield would have started another war with Russia in 1877. The British Government opposed the piercing of the isthmus of Suez. But when the canal was an accomplished fact control by the Suez Company was acquired. The British then did themselves, what they would have fought any other European nation for trying to do. They made the first breach in the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by the Cyprus Convention and the occupation of Egypt. With Egypt safely in British hands, the Foreign Office did not hesitate to change its Balkan policy. The incorporation of eastern Rumelia in Bulgaria was

supported in 1885. Eight years before, British statesman would not have hesitated to plunge Europe into a bloody war to prevent the formation of a large Bulgaria.

"The occupation of Egypt was to have been provisional. The British Government solemnly declared to the other powers that it had no intention of settling permanently on the Nile, and that it would evacuate Egypt 'at an early moment.' The occupation dragged on. There was always a good reason for not leaving. At the end of the 19th century, the British reconquered the Sudan to assure their position in Egypt and the Red Sea, and fought the Boer War to prevent South Africa from passing out of their hands. The idea of the Cape-to-Cairo Railway—'all British'—was launched. By pushing up the Nile, the British came into contact with French at Fashoda. If the French had thought it possible or if they had allies to help them, they would have declared war against Great Britain. Instead of fighting, the statesmen of the two countries came to an understanding on all colonial questions. This was not hard to accomplish, because the French had set their hearts on Morocco and did not claim any of the approaches to India. On May 8,

1904, an agreement was signed between Great Britain and France, settling their disputes throughout the world. The basis of the compromise was mutual disinterestedness in Egypt and Morocco. The principal factor which led Great Britain into the entente cordiale was a desire to get rid of French intrigue in Egypt. This was necessary to hold permanently the route to India by the Suez Canal.....".

"The protect India by sea, the British decided to control the Arabian Sea on the west, the Gulf of Bengal on the east, and all the passages from the Indian Ocean to these waters. In the mind of the British Foreign Office, unquestioned supremacy of the seas meant the occupation of islands; and supremacy of the straits leading to be Arabian and the Gulf of Siam, the occupation of the mainlands bordering them. Later, the policy of control of extended to include the littoral of the Arabian Ocean and the Gulf of Siam. Then, it was evident that the littoral could be made secure only by occupation of the hinterland! From London and Liverpool to Hongkong, the control of the sea could not be maintained by a fleet alone. The result? Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, Aden, Perim, the Sudan on the

route to India from the west, Sokotra, the Seychelles, and other islands guarding the Arabian Sea, the Bahrein Islands dominating the Persian Gulf, Ceylon at the tip of India, the islands and mainland of the Gulf of Bengal, Singapore and the Malay Peninsula, and the northern side of Borneo on the route to India from the east."

Turning to land, the same authority continues

"On land, India is surrounded by Baluchistan, Afghanistan, the Russian provinces of Bokhara and Turkestan, the Chines provinces of Sinkiang and Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, and Burma. Since the Government of India annexed Baluchistan and Burmat Persia, the Szechuan and Yunnan provinces of China, French Indo China, and Siam had common boundaries with India."

"The sovereignty of British India was extended over Baluchistan from 1875 to 1903, and over Burma from 1879 to 1909. Because Baluchistan and Burma were on the sea-coast the British were satisfied with nothing less than actual political control and effective military occupation. But once started, there is no limit to 'safe guards.' The appetite grows in eating. When the recent war broke out, Great Britain was

was ensconcing herself in southern Persia, not with the consent of the Persians, but by reason of an agreement with Russia. Afghanistan was forced to accept British control. In Egypt, not the consent of the Egyptians, but an agreement with France, gave Great Britain what she considered her 'rights' on the Nile, and those rights were never satisfied until the head-waters of the Nile were reached.

"As the control of southern Persia followed logically the incorporation of Baluchistan into India, expansion at the expense of Siam followed the absorption of Burma. In 1909, Great Britain achieved command of the coast of the Gulf of Bengal by wresting from Siam the tributary states of Kelantan, Tren-gganu, and Keda. To protect India on the land side, military occupation has followed the sending of punitive expeditions to punish tribesmen for raiding protected states. New territories occupied became in turn protected, and so the process continued until the great mountain frontiers were reached.

"On the confines of India only three independent states remain, Nepal, Bhutan, and Afghanistan. But these states are not independent in fact. They are bound hand and

foot to the Government of India. There has been a British Resident in Nepal for a hundred years. The British are allowed to recruit freely for the Indian army from among the splendid dominant race of Ghurkas, and the prime minister, who is all-powerful, holds the rank of Lieutenant-General in the British Army. The rulers of Afghanistan and Bhutan receive, large subsidies on condition of good behaviour, which means doing always what the Government of India says and treating with the outside world only through the Government of India. Part of Bhutan was annexed to Bengal in 1864, and the country has received a British subsidy since 1865. In 1907, the dual control of clergy and laity, which had been in force ever since the British began to occupy India, was done away with in Bhutan. The difficulties in Tibet were a warning that could not be disregarded. A Maharaja was elected, and this gave the British the opportunity to get effective control of the country without conquering it. In consideration of doubling the subsidy, the Bhutan government surrendered control of foreign relations to the British in 1910, and allowed them to occupy two strong positions inside the Bhutan frontier.

Judging from the history of formation of British India, we are on the threshold of a radical change in international relations. One is safe in predicting that both Nepal and Bhutan will become integral parts of India in the future."

"The situation in regard to Afghanistan," continues Mr. Gibl, "has been different. The treaty of 1893, which followed long and wars, gave the British predominance in Afghanistan. But Russia, in Asiatic expansion, was not disposed to allow Afghanistan to become British without a struggle. Russian imperialism turned against British imperialism its own argument..... After penetrating Mongolia, the Russians desired to extend their influence over Tibet—and, for exactly the same reason as the British, had been following out their own imperialistic policy. In the minds of British statesmen, Afghanistan and Tibet became the two shields of India. During the first decade of the 20th century, these two countries, as well as Persia, became to the Government of India and the British Foreign Office—'safeguards' which must be added to the British Empire. War with Russia was avoided because of the Convention of 1907. In

the same decade Germany became a menace to India through the Bagdad Railway conception. Great Britain had determined to allow neither Russia nor Germany to reach the Persian Gulf. Having compounded colonial rivalries with France and Russia, she had no way of arriving at a diplomatic understanding with Germany. The Bagdad Railway question was decided on battlefields from Flanders to Mesopotamia."

This statement of facts and event in the sequence in which they have been put by Mr. Gibbons is based on history which cannot be contested. The Great War has not ended wars. At one time it was claimed that it would. Europe is even now sitting on the crest of a volcano and a war in the near future is certain. India, being a huge source of British wealth and British man-power, is looked upon with great suspicion and distrust by all the powers of Europe and Asia. The Orient is in revolt against the authority of Europe. The Soviet is busy trying to alienate from Great Britain the European working-man and the Asiatic nationalists of different countries. India is also ablaze with fire. Under the circumstances much political sagacity is not required to predict that India cannot very long be held in bondage as it has been for

the last 150 years. Even British interests require that the British should come to an agreement with India as to the future relations of Britain and India. China is already ablaze. Afghanistan has become independent. Persia is organising herself into an efficient nation. Russia is almost on the borders of Afghanistan. In these circumstances, it is for Great Britain to see what the consequences of a discontented and unhappy India can possibly be to her political future. Britain's imperial rivals are interested inflaming Indian nationalists. They will leave no stone unturned to make India unsafe for England in the next war. England is popular nowhere in the world, and although we hear so much of *ententes* and treaties and understandings, they are not worth the paper on which they are written. The history of the past 200 years has shown that treaties have been treated like scraps of paper whenever they stood in the way of imperial ambitions of any great power. The League of Nations, really speaking, commands no influence. It is completely under the thumb of the two or three great powers of the world. It is abundantly clear that even these two or three powers are not quite happy with each other, much less so are those who either stand out or have to get compensation for past

wrongs. India will thus be always an object of solicitude, a field for intrigue to Britain's enemies. But a contented India may safely keep out of all wars between the European powers. England's military arrogance against other countries is very much dictated, or at least influenced, by her resources in India. Once those resources are gone or decreased or placed out of reach, Britain will become a chastened nation and treat with other people on terms of justice and fair play. As long as she can count upon India, India's material resources and her man-power, she is bound to maintain her present aggressive attitude which is often reflected in the speeches of her statesmen like Lord Bicknhead and Mr. Winston Churchill. An aggressive, defiant, insolent Great Britain, with India at her beck and call, is a danger to world peace. With India self-governing that danger will disappear. The point is so clear that one need not labour it any further.

It is also abundantly clear that, as long as India does not become free, she cannot very much improve those departments of her national life which could secure for her freedom from disease. Diseases and epidemics, as we have already shown, are the product of ignorance and

poverty. And ignorance and poverty are bound to continue as long as Britain holds India in the hollow of her hand and as long as Britain's fiscal policy is determined by British interests—imperial, military and economic. It is to much to expect that England will forego any fraction of them. The fact that in this intoxication of power the British Cabinet and the British Parliament should be defying Indian public opinion in the matter of the constitution of the Statutory Commission, also gives, support to the same view. We may here fittingly quote another American authority who hails from New York. Reverend Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, late President of the Union Theological Seminary of New York, and Burrows Lecturer on the Orient, remarks

"There is no denying the fact that England is administering India for England's benefit and not India's. It is hard for me to say this, because until I went to India my sympathies were all on the English side. My early education was much in England and I have many dear personal friends there. But what I am saying now is the truth, and the truth must be told.....

The obvious fact stares us in the face that there is at no time, in no year,

any shortage of food-stuff in India. The trouble is that the taxes imposed by the British Government being fifty per cent. of produce, the India starves that England's annual revenue may not be diminished by a dollar. Eighty per cent. of the whole population has been thrown back upon the soil because England's discriminating have ruined practically every branch of native manufacture; and these tillers of the soil, when they have sold themselves for the last time to the money-lender, when they have over and over again mortgaged their crops and their bit of land, are sold by the tax-collector to wander about until they drop of starvation. We send shiploads of grain to India; but there is plenty of grain in India. The trouble is the people have been ground down until they are too poor to buy it. Famine is chronic there now, though the same shipments of foodstuffs are made annually to England, the same drainage of millions of dollars goes on every year....

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, who served as an American Minister in China, observes in his book called *'The Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East'*:

"The present situation in India illustrates some of the unfortunate results of the political dependence of a civilized people. Not only politically but also in economic matters, India is kept in a state of dependence on the metropole. But the most hopeless feature of the situation is that the men who would naturally be leaders in government and enterprises, find themselves excluded from opportunities for exercising legitimate power in their own country. Such a decapitation of an entire people is a great sacrifice to impose, even in return for the blessings of peace and an efficient policing of the country. The continuance of this policy would mean either the total destruction and degradation of Indian national life, or the end of the British Raj."

It may be argued that in order to protect herself from foreign aggression, India cannot do without British help. This is again an unwarranted assumption. Here is the testimony of General Sir Jan Hamilton about the military possibilities of a free India:

"There is material in the north of India, sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundation once it dares to tamper with that

militarism which now alone supplies it with any higher ideal than money and the luxury which that money can purchase. It is heroism, self-sacrifice and chivalry which redeem war and build up national character. What part do these heroic qualities find in the ignoble struggle between nations for commercial supremacy, with stock exchanges and wheat-pits for their battlefields? If then it is a question of finding leaders, a gradual diffusion of knowledge will produce those leaders, and once they have been found, how can England hope to retain under the British crown this vast empire permanently—unless the Indians are exactly in the same position of independence as Canadians and Australians to-day occupy?"

The possibility of India being conquered by any other power also may be dismissed without much discussion. The world situation would not allow any other power taking possession of India. The European powers may not feel any danger from India if she is self-governing. But any attempt on the part of any other power to take possession will be resented and resisted by the powers of Europe in their own interests and for reasons which have already been stated in

the opening part of this Chapter. Of course, if India remains within the Empire, as she at present might be contented to be, she may be a source of strength to Great Britain as against her enemies. But if she is compelled to leave the Empire, then one source of danger to the peace of the world would be removed.

In the post-war world a keen struggle has been going on between the principles of imperialism and socialism. The war has produced a revolution in the Russia, like of which has never been known in history. The Russian revolution has been opposed and the Soviet has been attacked in many ways by the capitalistic Empires of Europe. We have been from time to time told that Russia's dissolution was imminent, yet it has survived all those attacks and is very much alive, so much so that British diplomacy and, even British Foreign Office have to take note of the influence of Russia both political and economic in Asia and in Europe. We may or may not agree with Bolshevik ideas, but it is certain that the experiment that is being tried in Soviet Russia is going to influence the like of the world in a great measure. There is no doubt from what one can observe in Europe and America that the tide

against imperialism is rising. A struggle between capitalism and socialism, or say, between capitalism and socialism will take some time, but by all portents, eventually the New Spirit is bound to triumph. The only way to meet Bolshevism is to concede rights to the different peoples of the earth—India among them—now being bled and exploited by Imperial races. Otherwise the discontented and exploited countries of the world will be the breeding centres for it. India must come into her own, else not even the Himalayas can effectively bar the entry of Bolshevism into India.

Then again let us look at the question from the commercial point of view. By its geographical situation India is a connecting link between the Near East and the Far East, and a clearing house for the trade of the world. Racially it holds the balance between the European Aryans and the yellow races. In any military conflict between the white and the yellow races the people of India will be a decisive factor. In peace they will be a harmonising element. Racially they are related to Europeans. Religiously and culturally they are nearer to the Chinese and Japanese.

Yet another aspect of it. With 70 millions of Muslims, India is the most important centre of Islamic sentiment. At present the British Government is trying to keep the Muslims contented and on its side by raising up the Hindu-Muslin conflict in various forms, and by doles of favour, but this policy is eventually bound to fail because the pan-Islamic element is growing stronger. Among the Muslim population of India a large number of Indian Muslims are alive to the importance of India to the cause of Islam in the world. The freedom of Islamic powers, so to speak, depends upon the freedom of India. The present temporary tension between Hindus and Mussalmans is bound to end some day—at least when the fact dawns on the millions of Indian Muslims that Islam cannot be revived or strengthened or made independent of European influence until India is again free. Islam is not dead. It cannot and will not die. The only way to make it a force of harmony and peace is to recognise its potentialities and to respect its susceptibilities. The political independence of Islamic countries is a basic foundation for such a state, and India is destined to play a very important part in the future developments of Islam.

Looking at the progress of extremely, foolish to attempt to rule humanity, it cannot be ignored that India despotically. Not even the India, inhabited by one fifth of the gods can do so for a considerable human race, and China, with its even greater population, are the greatest stumbling blocks in the way of rapid human progress. Both the countries are alive to the fact. Both the great populations are conscious of their present disabilities—and also of their immense potentialities. They are at present spokes in the wheel of progress. But a self-governing India will be a great help to the advance of human progress. With a republican China in the north-east, a strong and virile Afghanistan in the northwest, and independent and progressive Persia in the back-ground, and Bolshevik Russia on the north up across the Hindukush, it will be

even if the British Parliament and the Indian Legislatures were to devote all their sittings to the drafting and passing of a hundred coercive Acts. The peace of the world, international harmony and good-will, the reputation of the English nation, the progress of mankind and the economic welfare of the world, all demand the peaceful introduction and development of the democratic form of Government in India and the sooner the English realise that patent fact the better it will be for all concerned.

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